

Wm. Goodrich
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LITERARY RECORD.

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THE
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. I.

APRIL, 1836.

No. 4.

EARLY HISTORY OF HARTFORD.

THERE are few favors better entitled to thankful acknowledgments, than those bestowed by literary gentlemen in aid of editors. With a full appreciation of such favors, the conductors of this Magazine renew their expressions of obligation to a correspondent, whose additional contributions from an abundant store-house are presented below.

ED.

EXTRACTS AND MINUTES FROM THE RECORDS OF HARTFORD.

IN town meeting, January, 1639. Ordered that every man who shall borrow the town chain shall pay two pence a day for the use of it, and pay for mending it, if broken in his use.

The gallery in the first meeting-house was ordered to be built in 1644. But this was probably not then done, for there was a similar order in 1664, and in 1665, when a rate was granted to pay the expense.

In 1640, every man who had been an inhabitant of the town four years, was permitted, by vote of the town, to sell all his lands.

In 1633, the Dutch erected a fort near the bank of the Connecticut, a little *south* of the mouth of the Little river or Mill river. But in the war between England and Holland, Capt. John Underhill received a commission, dated May 24, 1653, to dispossess them. He accordingly took the fort, "*belonging to the West India Company of Amsterdam in North Holland.*" The lands of the Dutch were sold to different persons. The point of land on which the fort stood was called the *Dutch point*. This was the

point formed by the junction of Mill river with the Connecticut, on the *south* side of Mill river; but the writer thinks this name is now given to the point opposite, on the *north* side of Mill river. More than forty years ago, the writer saw some of the white Holland bricks, the remains of the Dutch fort, which had been washed out of the earth by the river. Since that time the river has worn away the site of the fort.

In the early stage of settlements in Hartford, the inhabitants on the north and south sides of Mill river held separate meetings for the choice of town officers and for other business. This was probably owing to the want of a bridge over that river.

December 23, 1664. Samuel Wyllys, James Richards and William Wadsworth were empowered, as a committee, to receive four hundred pounds appointed by the trustees of Edward Hopkins, to be delivered to the town by Edward Stebbing and Thomas Bull, to be employed, in the town, for promoting learning, &c. This was the original fund for the support of the Grammar School. But it appears by a vote in 1712, that the legacy was not at that time obtained.

A. D. 1670. In the records of land is recorded a deed from Massee-Keip, William Squa, and others, surviving inhabitants of *Suckiag*, (now Hartford,) to John Talcott and others, inhabitants of Hartford. The deed states that about the year 1636, Sunckquasson, Sachem of the place, did, by a deed under his hand, pass over to Samuel Stone and William Goodwin, in behalf of the then settlers and owners of the land, all the land from a marked tree N F in the line between Hartford and Wethersfield to Windsor bounds, and from the river six miles west to Farmington; but that the writing was out of the way. The Indians who make this deed say, that they knew what their predecessor Sunckquasson had done, and having received some additional consideration, they signed the deed, July 1st, 1670.

By deed dated May 13, 1682, James Fitch and Thomas Buckingham, administrators on the estate of Joshua, Sachem, conveyed to the town of Hartford, a tract of land of the breadth of Hartford from a line three miles east of the river, extending five miles eastward. This grant comprehends the eastern part of East Hartford and a part of Manchester.

By a vote of the town, the preceding year, the town agreed to pay the administrators of Joshua's will so much money as Major

Talcott had agreed to give to Joshua before his death, for the lands above named.

October, 1689, the town ordered the dwelling-house of Samuel Wyllys, and that of James Steele to be fortified for the defense of the town.

October 5, 1694. The town took into consideration the recommendation of the General Court for making a separate parish on the east side of the river. They say, they prize the good company of the people on that side, and cannot comfortably maintain the ministry—that though the people complain of the trouble and danger of crossing the river to meeting, yet they could not but foresee this, before they settled there, and therefore such complaints had less weight with them. Yet they finally consented, under compulsion of the General Court, but desired that the good people of the *east side*, who wished to continue with the *west side*, might have liberty to do it, and that all the land on the *east side* belonging to people on the *west*, might pay to the minister on the *west*, and all the land on the *west side* shall pay to the minister on the *west*, though it belongs to people on the *east*.

In 1696, the town appointed a committee to see if the proprietors of lots in the West division (now West Hartford) improved more than a mile and a half from Farmington line; if so, then to warn them from the *common land*.

December, 1709, the people of the West division petitioned for leave to call and settle a minister. They withdrew, and the town voted not to consent. The next year a committee was chosen to draw up a written answer to the petition, which was in substance, the same as was given to the people in East Hartford, recited above.

In 1727, the people in East Hartford petitioned to be set off as a separate town.

[*Note.* East Hartford was not made a separate town, till 1783 or 4. The writer has attended town meetings when the inhabitants of East Hartford attended as a part of the inhabitants of the present town of Hartford. East Hartford was then called the *East side*. The *common land* mentioned above retained that appellation till lately, and perhaps it does still. It was the land between the town or city and West Hartford.]

In 1732, George Wyllys was chosen town clerk, and was annually rechosen for more than sixty years.

In 1722, the town granted liberty to Jonah Gross to build a

vessel, in the town, in such place as should be designated by the selectmen.

In 1723, a committee was appointed to lay out a highway in West division, eight rods wide, and permission was given to build a shed for horses on Sundays.

The first vote of the town for liberty to set the North Church in the burying lot, was in 1730, Dec. 17.

In 1761, Samuel Talcott, Esq. gave to the town land for a road north of his house to the river. (This is the street on which now stands the church of the Romanists.)

In 1756, Samuel Talcott requested from the town liberty to set up a store, north of Joseph Olcott's; and Isaac Pratt requested liberty to set up a store east of the turn of the road.

[The square before the present State House was originally larger than at present. It was narrowed by a vote of the town in 1749.]

In 1672, a committee of the town run the line of the road to Windsor, and it was determined to be seven rods wide.

In 1700, the town granted liberty to Richard Edwards to transport eight or nine thousand barrel staves.

In 1704, several houses on the west and east side of the river were ordered to be fortified. This was in Queen Anne's war.

In 1707, the town by vote obliged every rateable person to kill one dozen of blackbirds in March, April and May, and in default of that, to pay one shilling. For killing more than three dozen, a bounty was ordered of a penny a head. In 1719, the injunction and the penalty were revoked, but the bounty was continued.

In 1715, the town voted that they would not in future be at any charge for fetching the cows out of the meadows. Yet in 1717, the charge of the selectmen for that service was allowed.

In 1716, the town voted to remonstrate to the General Assembly against setting the Collegiate School in New Haven.

About the year 1725, a funeral cloth for East Hartford, and another for the West division, was ordered by the town.

In 1757, the town directed the selectmen to procure or build a house for the accommodation of the French Neutrals who had been distributed in the town by the General Court. [Among these were the families of the late John Chenevard, and the late treasurer, John Lawrence.]

CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS.

A HISTORICAL DISCOURSE, delivered before the citizens of Concord, 12th September, 1835; on the Second Centennial Anniversary of the incorporation of the town. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

[Continued from page 87.]

It is said that the covenant made with the Indians by Mr. Bulkley and Major Willard, was made under a great oak, formerly standing near the site of the Middlesex Hotel.* Our Records affirm, that, Squaw Sachem, Tahattawan, and Nimrod did sell a tract of six miles square to the English, receiving for the same, some fathoms of Wampumpeag, hatchets, hoes, knives, cotton cloth, and shirts. Wibbacowet, the husband of Squaw Sachem, received a suit of cloth, a hat, a white linen band, shoes, stockings, and a great coat; and, in conclusion, the said Indians declared themselves satisfied, and told the Englishmen they were welcome. And after the bargain was concluded, Mr. Simon Willard, pointing to the four corners of the world, declared that they had bought three miles from that place, east, west, north, and south.†

The Puritans, to keep the remembrance of their unity one with another, and of their peaceful compact with the Indians, named their forest settlement CONCORD. They proceeded to build under the shelter of the hill that extends for a mile along the north side of the Boston road, their first dwellings. The labors of a new plantation were paid by its excitements. I seem to see them with their pious pastor, addressing themselves to the work of clearing the land. Natives of another hemisphere, they beheld with curiosity, all the pleasing features of the American forest. The landscape before them was fair, if it was strange and rude. The little flower, which at this season stars our woods and road sides with its profuse blooms, might attract even eyes as stern as theirs with its humble beauty. The useful pine lifted its cones

* Shattuck, p. 6.

† Depositions taken in 1684, and copied into the first volume of the Town Records.

into the frosty air. The maple which is already making the forest gay with its orange hues, reddened over those houseless men. The majestic summits of Wachusett and Monadnoc towering in the horizon, invited the steps of adventure westward.

As the season grew later, they felt its inconveniences. "Many were forced to go barefoot and bareleg, and some in time of frost and snow, yet they were more healthy than now they are."* The land was low but healthy; and if, in common with all the settlements, they found the air of America very cold, they might say with Higginson, after his description of the other elements, that "New England may boast of the element of fire, more than all the rest; for all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New England. A poor servant, that is to possess but fifty acres, may afford to give more wood for fire as good as the world yields, than many noblemen in England."† Many were their wants, but more their privileges. The light struggled in through windows of oiled paper,‡ but they read the word of God by it. They were fain to make use of their knees for a table, but their limbs were their own. Hard labor and spare diet they had, and off wooden trenchers, but they had peace and freedom, and the wailing of the tempest in the woods sounded kindlier in their ear, than the smooth voices of the prelates at home, in England. "There is no people," said the pastor to his little flock of exiles, "but will strive to excel in something. What can we excel in, if not in holiness? If we look to number, we are the fewest; if to strength, we are the weakest; if to wealth and riches, we are the poorest of all the people of God through the whole world. We cannot excel nor so much as equal other people in these things; and if we come short in grace and holiness too, we are the most despicable people under heaven. Strive we, therefore, herein to excel, and suffer not this crown to be taken away from us."|| The sermon fell into good and tender hearts; the people conspired with their teacher. Their religion was sweetness and peace amidst toil and tears. And, as we are informed, "the edge of their appetite was greater to spiritual duties at their first coming, in time of wants, than afterwards."

The original town records, for the first thirty years, are lost.

* Johnson.

† New England's Plantation.

‡ E. W.'s Letter in Mourt, 1621.

|| Peter Bulkley's Gospel Covenant; Preached at Concord in N. E. 2d Edition; London, 1651, p. 432.

We have records of marriages and deaths, beginning nineteen years after the settlement; and copies of some of the doings of the town in regard to territory, of the same date. But the original distribution of the land, or an account of the principles on which it was divided, are not preserved. Agreeably to the custom of the times, a large portion was reserved to the public, and it appears from a petition of new comers, in 1643, that a part had been divided among the first settlers without price, on the single condition of improving it.* Other portions seem to have been successively divided off and granted to individuals, at the rate of sixpence or a shilling per acre. But, in the first years, the land would not pay the necessary public charges, and they seem to have fallen heavily on the few wealthy planters. Mr. Bulkley, by his generosity, spent his estate, and doubtless in consideration of his charges, the general court, in 1639, granted him 300 acres towards Cambridge; and to Mr. Spencer, probably for like reasons, 300 acres on the Alewife river. In 1638, 1200 acres were granted to Governor Winthrop, and 1000 to Thomas Dudley, of the lands adjacent to the town, and Governor Winthrop selected as a building spot the land near the house of Capt. Humphrey Hunt.† The first record now remaining, is that of a reservation of land for the minister, and the appropriation of new lands as commons or pastures to some poor men. At the same date, in 1654, the town divided itself into three districts, called the North, South, and East quarters: Ordered, "that the North quarter are to keep and maintain all their highways and brigdes over the great river, in their quarter, and in respect to the greatness of their charge thereabout, and in regard of the ease of the East quarter above the rest, in their highways, they are to allow the North quarter £3."‡

Fellow Citizens, this first recorded political act of our fathers, this tax assessed on its inhabitants by a town, is the most important event in their civil history, implying, as it does, the exercise of a sovereign power, and connected with all the immunities and powers of a corporate town in Massachusetts. The greater speed and success that distinguish the planting of the human race in this country, over all other plantations in history, owe themselves mainly, to the new subdivisions of the state into small corporations of land and power. It is vain to look for the inventor.

* See the petition in Shattuck, p. 14.

† Shattuck, p. 14.

‡ Town Records; Shattuck, p. 34.

No man made them. Each of the parts of that perfect structure grew out of the necessities of an instant occasion. The germ was formed in England. The charter gave to the freemen of the company of Massachusetts Bay, the election of the Governor and Council of Assistants. It moreover gave them the power of prescribing the manner in which freemen should be elected; and ordered, that all fundamental laws should be enacted by the freemen of the colony. But the company removed to New England; more than one hundred freemen were admitted the first year, and it was found inconvenient to assemble them all.* And when, presently, the design of the colony began to fulfill itself, by the settlement of new plantations in the vicinity of Boston, and parties, with grants of land, straggled into the country, to truck with the Indians, and to clear the land for their own benefit, the Governor and freemen, in Boston, found it neither desirable nor possible to control the trade and practices of these farmers. What could a body of planters, meeting four times a year at Boston, do for the daily wants of the planters at Musketaquid? The wolf was to be killed; the Indian to be watched and resisted; wells to be dug; the forest to be felled; pastures to be cleared; corn to be raised; roads to be cut; town and farm lines to be run. These things must be done, govern who might. The nature of man and his condition in the world, for the first time within the period of certain history, controlled the formation of the State. The necessity of the colonists wrote the law. Their wants, their poverty, their manifest convenience made them bold to ask of the Governor and of the general court, immunities, and, to certain purposes, sovereign powers. The townsmen's words were heard and weighed, for all knew that it was a petitioner that could not be slighted; it was the river, or the winter, or famine, or the Pequots, that spoke through them to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay. Instructed by necessity, each little company organized itself after the pattern of the larger town, by appointing its constable, and other petty half-military officers. As early as 1633,† the office of townsman or *selectman* appears, who seems first to have been appointed by the general court, as here, at Concord, in 1639. In 1635, the court say, "whereas, particular towns have many things which concern only themselves, it is Ordered, that the freemen of every town shall have power to dispose of

* Bancroft; Hist. United States, vol. 1, p. 389.

† Savage's Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 114.

their own lands and woods, and choose their own particular officers."* This pointed chiefly at the office of constable, but they soon chose their own selectmen, and very early assessed taxes; a power at first resisted; but speedily confirmed to them.†

Meantime, to this paramount necessity, a milder and more pleasing influence was joined. I esteem it the happiness of this country, that its settlers, whilst they were exploring their granted and natural rights, and determining the power of the magistrate, were united by personal affection. Members of a church, before whose searching covenant all rank was abolished, they stood in awe of each other, as religious men. They bore to John Winthrop, the Governor, a grave but hearty kindness. For the first time, men examined the powers of the chief whom they loved and revered. For the first time, the ideal social compact was real. The bands of love and reverence held fast the little state, whilst they untied the great cords of authority to examine their soundness, and learn on what wheels they ran. They were to settle the internal constitution of the towns, and at the same time, their power in the commonwealth. The Governor conspires with them in limiting his claims to their obedience, and values much more their love than his chartered authority. The disputes between that forbearing man and the deputies, are like the quarrels of girls, so much do they turn upon complaints of unkindness, and end in such loving reconciliations. It was on doubts concerning their own power, that, in 1634, a committee repaired to him for counsel, and he advised, seeing the freemen were grown so numerous, to send deputies from every town once in a year, to revise the laws and to assess all moneys.‡ And the general court, thus constituted, only needed to go into separate session from the council, as they did in 1644,|| to become essentially the same assembly they are this day.

By this course of events, Concord and the other plantations found themselves separate and independent of Boston, with certain rights of their own, which, what they were, time alone could fully determine; enjoying at the same time, a strict and loving fellowship with Boston, and sure of advice and aid on every emergency. Their powers were speedily settled by obvious convenience, and the towns learned to exercise a sovereignty in the lay-

* Colony Records, vol. 1.

† See Hutchinson's Collection, p. 287.

‡ Winthrop's Journal, vol. 1, pp. 128, 129, and the Editor's note.

|| Winthrop's Journal, vol. 2, p. 160.

ing of taxes; in the choice of their deputy to the house of representatives; in the disposal of the town lands; in the care of public worship, the school and the poor; and, what seemed of at least equal importance, to exercise the right of expressing an opinion on every question before the country. In a town meeting, the great secret of political science was uncovered, and the problem solved, how to give every individual his fair weight in the government, without any disorder from numbers. In a town meeting the roots of society were reached. Here the rich gave counsel, but the poor also; and moreover, the just and the unjust. He is ill informed, who expects, on running down the town records for two hundred years, to find a church of saints, a metropolis of patriots, enacting wholesome and creditable laws. The constitution of the town forbid it. In this open democracy, every opinion had utterance; every objection, every fact, every acre of land, every bushel of rye, its entire weight. The moderator was the passive mouth-piece, and the vote of the town, like the vane on the turret overhead, free to every wind to turn, and always turned by the last and strongest breath. In these assemblies, the public weal, the call of interest, duty, religion, were heard; and every local feeling, every private grudge, every suggestion of petulance and ignorance, were not less faithfully produced. Wrath and love came up to town meeting in company. By the law of 1641, every man,—freeman or not,—inhabitant or not,—might introduce any business into a public meeting. Not a complaint occurs in all the volumes of our records, of any inhabitant being hindered from speaking, or suffering from any violence or usurpation of any class. The negative ballot of a ten shilling freeholder, was as fatal as that of the honored owner of Blood's Farms or Willard's Purchase. A man felt himself at liberty to exhibit, at town meeting, feelings and actions that he would have been ashamed of anywhere but amongst his neighbors. Individual protests are frequent. Peter Wright [1705] desired his dissent might be recorded from the town's grant to John Shepard.* In 1795, several town meetings are called, upon the compensation to be made to a few proprietors for land taken in making a bridle road; and one of them demanding large damages, many offers were made him in town meeting, and refused; "which the town thought very unreasonable." The matters there debated,

* Concord Town Records.

are such as to invite very small considerations. The ill-spelled pages of the town records contain the result. I shall be excused for confessing that I have set a value upon any symptom of meanness and private pique which I have met with in these antique books, as proof that justice was done; that if the results of our history are approved as wise and good, it was yet a free strife; if the good counsel prevailed, the sneaking counsel did not fail to be suggested; freedom and virtue, if they triumphed, triumphed in a fair field. And so be it an everlasting testimony for them, and so much ground of assurance of man's capacity for self-government.

It is the consequence of this institution, that not a school house, a public pew, a bridge, a pound, a mill-dam, hath been set up, or pulled down, or altered, or bought, or sold, without the whole population of this town having a voice in the affair. A general contentment is the result. And the people truly feel that they are the lords of the soil. In every winding road, in every stone fence, in the smokes of the poor house chimney, in the clock on the church, they read their own power, and consider, at leisure, the wisdom and error of their judgments.

The British government has recently presented to the several public libraries of this country, copies of the splendid edition of the Domesday Book, and other ancient public Records of England. I cannot but think that it would be a suitable acknowledgment of this national munificence, if the records of one of our towns,—of this town, for example,—should be printed, and presented to the governments of Europe; to the English nation, as a thank-offering, and as a certificate of the progress of the Saxon race; to the Continental nations, as a lesson of humanity and love. Tell them, the Union has twenty four States, and Massachusetts is one. Tell them Massachusetts has three hundred towns, and Concord is one; that in Concord are five hundred rateable polls, and every one has an equal vote.

About ten years after the planting of Concord, efforts began to be made to civilize the Indians, and “to win them to the knowledge of the true God.” This indeed, in so many words, is expressed in the charter of the Colony, as one of its ends; and this design is named first in the printed “Considerations,”* that inclined Hampden, and determined Winthrop and his friends to come

* Hutchinson's Collection, p. 27.

hither. The interest of the Puritans in the natives, was heightened by a suspicion at that time prevailing, that these were the lost ten tribes of Israel. The man of the woods might well draw on himself the compassion of the planters. His erect and perfect form, though disclosing some irregular virtues, was found joined to a dwindled soul. Master of all sorts of wood-craft, he seemed part of the forest and the lake, and the secret of his amazing skill seemed to be, that he partook of the nature and fierce instincts of the beasts he slew. Those who dwelled by ponds and rivers, had some tincture of civility, but the hunters of the tribe were found intractable at catechism. Thomas Hooker anticipated the opinion of Humboldt, and called them "the ruins of mankind."

Early efforts were made to instruct them, in which Mr. Bulkley, Mr. Flint, and Capt. Willard, took an active part. In 1644, Squaw Sachem, the widow of Nanepashemet, the great Sachem of Concord and Mystic, with two Sachems of Wachusett, made a formal submission to the English government, and intimated their desire, "as opportunity served, and the English lived among them, to learn to read God's word, and know God aright; and the general court acted on their request."* John Eliot, in October, 1646, preached his first sermon in the Indian language, at Noonantum; Waban, Tahattawan, and their sannaps, going thither from Concord to hear him. There, under the rubbish and ruins of barbarous life, the human heart heard the voice of love, and awoke as from a sleep. The questions which the Indians put, betray their reason and their ignorance. "Can Jesus Christ understand prayers in the Indian language?" "If a man be wise and his sachem weak, must he obey him?" At a meeting which Eliot gave to the squaws apart, the wife of Wampooas propounded the question, "whether do I pray when my husband prays, if I speak nothing as he doth, yet if I like what he saith?" "which questions were accounted of by some, as part of the whitenings of the harvest toward."† Tahattawan, our Concord Sachem, called his Indians together, and bid them not oppose the courses which the English were taking for their good; for, said he, all the time you have lived after the Indian fashion, under the power of the higher sachems, what did they care for you?

* Shattuck, p. 20.

† Shepard's *Clear Sunshine of the Gospel*, London, 1648.

They took away your skins, your kettles, and your wampum, at their own pleasure, and this was all they regarded. But you may see the English mind no such things, but only seek your welfare, and instead of taking away, are ready to give to you." Tahattawan and his son-in-law Waban, besought Eliot to come and preach to them at Concord, and here they entered, by his assistance, into an agreement to twenty nine rules, all breathing a desire to conform themselves to English customs.* They requested to have a town given them within the bounds of Concord, near unto the English. When this question was propounded by Tahattawan, he was asked, why he desired a town so near, when there was more room for them up in the country? The sachem replied, that he knew if the Indians dwelt far from the English, they would not care so much to pray, nor could they be so ready to hear the word of God, but would be all one Indians still; but dwelling near the English, he hoped it might be otherwise with them then. We, who see in the squalid remnants of the twenty tribes of Massachusetts, the final failure of this benevolent enterprise, can hardly learn without emotion, the earnestness with which the most sensible individuals of the copper race, held on to the new hope they had conceived, of being elevated to equality with their civilized brothers. It is piteous to see their self-distrust, in their request to live near the English, and the unanimous entreaty to Capt. Willard, to be their Recorder, being very solicitous that what they did agree upon, might be faithfully kept without alteration. It was remarkable, that the preaching was not wholly new to them. "Their forefathers," the Indians told Eliot, "did know God, but after this they fell into a deep sleep, and when they did awake, they quite forgot him."†

At the Instance of Eliot, in 1651, their desire was granted by the general court, and Nashobah, lying near Nagog pond, now partly in Littleton, partly in Acton, became an Indian town, where a Christian worship was established under an Indian ruler and teacher.‡ Wilson relates, that, at their meetings, "the Indians sung a psalm, made Indian by Eliot, in one of our ordinary English tunes, melodiously."§ Such was, for half a century, the success of the general enterprise, that in 1676, there were 567 praying Indians, and in 1689, twenty four Indian preachers, and eighteen assemblies.

* See them in Shattuck, p. 22.

† Shepard, p. 9. ‡ Shattuck, p. 27. § Wilson's Letter, 1651.

Meantime, Concord increased in territory and population. The lands were divided; highways were cut from farm to farm, and from this town to Boston. A military company had been organized in 1636. The Pequots, the terror of the farmer, were exterminated in 1637. Capt. Underhill, in 1638, declared that "the new plantations of Dedham and Concord do afford large accommodation, and will contain abundance of people."* In 1639, our first selectmen, Mr. Flint, Lt. Willard, and Richard Griffin were appointed.† And in 1640, when the colony rate was £1200, Concord was assessed at £50‡. The country already began to yield more than was consumed by the inhabitants.¶ The very great immigration from England made the lands more valuable every year, and supplied a market for the produce. In 1643, the Colony was so numerous, that it became expedient to divide it into four counties, Concord being included in Middlesex.§ In 1644, the town contained sixty families.

But in 1640, all immigration ceased, and the country produce and farm stock depreciated.¶ Other difficulties accrued. The fish, which had been the abundant manure of the settlers, was found to injure the land.** The river, at this period, seems to have caused some distress, now by its overflow, now by its drought.†† A cold wet summer blighted the corn; enormous flocks of pigeons beat down and eat up all sorts of English grain; and the crops suffered much from mice.‡‡ New plantations and better land had been opened far and near; and whilst many of the Colonists at Boston, thought to remove, or did remove to England, the Concord people became uneasy, and looked around for new seats. In 1643, one seventh or eighth part of the inhabitants went to Connecticut with Rev. Mr. Jones, and settled Fairfield. Weakened by this loss, the people begged to be released from a part of their rates, to which the general court consented.¶¶ Mr. Bulkley dissuaded his people from removing, and admonished them to increase their faith with their griefs. Even this check which befel them, acquaints us with the rapidity of their growth, for the good man, in dealing with his people, taxes them with luxury. "We pretended to come hither," he says, "for ordinances; but now ordinances are light matters with us; we are

* News from America, p. 23.

† Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 2.

§ Hutchinson, vol. 1, p. 90.

** Hutchinson, vol. 1, p. 94.

‡‡ Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 94.

† Shattuck, p. 19.

¶ Hutchinson, vol. 1, p. 112.

¶ Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 21.

†† Bulkley's Gos. Cov. p. 209.

¶¶ Shattuck, p. 16.

turned after the prey. We have among us excess and pride of life ; pride in apparel, daintiness in diet, and that in those who, in time past, would have been satisfied with bread. *This is the sin of the lowest of the people.** Better evidence could not be desired of the rapid growth of the settlement.

The check was but momentary. The earth teemed with fruits. The people on the bay built ships, and found their way to the West Indies, with pipe-stave, lumber, and fish ; and the country people speedily learned how to supply themselves with sugar, tea, and melasses. The college had been already gathered in 1638. Now the school house went up. The general court, in 1647, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, Ordered, that every township, after the Lord had increased them to the number of fifty house-holders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read ; and where any town shall increase to the numeer of one hundred families, they shall set up a Grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University."† With these requirements, Concord not only complied, but, in 1653, subscribed a sum for several years to the support of Harvard College.‡

But a new and alarming public distress retarded the growth of this, as of the sister towns during more than twenty years, from 1654 to 1676. In 1654, the four New England Colonies agreed to raise 270 foot and 40 horse, to reduce Ninigret, Sachem of the Niantics, and appointed Major Simon Willard, of this town, to the command.¶ This war seems to have been pressed by three of the colonies, and reluctantly entered by Massachusetts. Accordingly, Major Willard did the least he could, and incurred the censure of the Commissioners, who wrote to their "loving friend Major Willard," "that they leave to his consideration the inconveniences arising from his non-attendance to his commission."§ This expedition was but the introduction of the war with King Philip. In 1670, the Wampanoags began to grind their hatchets, and mend their guns, and insult the English. Philip surrendered seventy guns to the commissioners in Taunton meeting-house,¶

* Gospel Covenant, p. 301.

† Bancroft, Hist. U. S. vol. 1. p. 498.

‡ Shattuck, p. 45.

¶ Hutchinson, vol. 1, p. 172.

§ See his instructions from the Commissioners, his narrative, and the Commissioners' letter to him in Hutchinson's Collection, pp. 261—270.

¶ Hutchinson, Hist. vol. 1, 251.

but revenged his humiliation a few years after, by carrying fire and the tomahawk into the English villages. From Narraganset to the Connecticut river, the scene of war was shifted as fast as these red hunters could traverse the forest. Concord was a military post. The inactivity of Major Willard in Ninigret's war, had lost him no confidence. He marched from Concord to Brookfield, in season to save the people whose houses had been burned, and who had taken shelter in a fortified house.* But he fought with disadvantage against an enemy who must be hunted before every battle. Some flourishing towns were burned. John Monoco, a formidable savage, boasted "that he had burned Medfield and Lancaster, and would burn Groton, Concord, Watertown and Boston ;" adding, "what me will me do." He did burn Groton, but before he had executed the remainder of his threat, he was hanged in Boston, in September, 1676.†

A still more formidable enemy was removed in the same year, by the capture of Canonchet, the faithful ally of Philip, who was soon afterwards shot at Stonington. He stoutly declared to the Commissioners that "he would not deliver up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail," and when he was told that his sentence was death, he said "he liked it well that he was to die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken any thing unworthy of himself."‡

We know before hand, who must conquer in that unequal struggle. The red man may destroy here and there a straggler, as a wild beast may ; he may fire a farm house or a village ; but the association of white men, and their arts of war give them an overwhelming advantage, and in the first blast of their trumpet, we already hear the flourish of victory. I confess, what chiefly interests me, in the annals of that war, is the grandeur and spirit exhibited by a few Indian chiefs. A nameless Wampanoag who was put to death by the Mohicans, after cruel tortures, was asked by his butchers during the torture, how he liked the war ?—he said, "he found it as sweet as sugar was to Englishmen."

* Hubbard, *Indian Wars*, p. 119, ed. 1801. † Hubbard, p. 201. ‡ Hubbard, p. 185.

BIOGRAPHY OF GOVERNOR EATON.

The Life of the Hon. THEOPHILUS EATON, Esquire; Knight of the Bath; Deputy Governor of the East India Company; Ambassador from the King of England to the Court at Denmark; one of the Patentees of the Massachusetts; one of its Magistrates; first Governor of New Haven Colony; one of the Commissioners, and one of the Presidents of the English United Colonies, in New England.

It having pleased the Most High to afflict this Colony (New Haven) greatly, by taking unto himself its former and ever honored Governor, Mr. EATON.

Rev. John Davenport.

The very pillar of their strength.—*Rev. William Hubbard.*

THE HON. THEOPHILUS EATON, Esq., first Governor of New Haven colony, and a principal founder, descended from a very respectable parentage. He was born in 1591, at Stony Stratford,* in Oxfordshire of England; and was the eldest son of the Rev. Richard Eaton, a distinguished minister of that place. His mother's name was Mary. She afterwards removed with her son to New England, was living in 1644, and died at New Haven about the year 1646, at a very advanced age. After the removal of Rev. Mr. Eaton from Stony Stratford to the parish of Cronly in Cheshire, and from thence to Coventry, his son, in early life, formed an intimate acquaintance at Merton College with Mr. John Davenport, who afterwards became a distinguished minister among Dissenters; and this friendship continued without intermission till the death of the former. The father of Mr. Davenport was Mayor of Coventry in Warwickshire, and his son became a minister; and Mr. Eaton, whose father was minister of that place, contrary to the intention of his parents, received a mercantile education. His parents were very reluctant to comply with his inclinations; but their compliance appears to have been overruled by Divine Providence, for the good of the family: for, after he was deprived of his father, who departed this life at Coventry, anno 1617, he maintained his surviving parent to the close of her

* An ancient town of Great Britain, on the river Ouse, in Bucks county.

life, and continued to exhibit to his brethren and an only sister, sincere, fraternal affection. The education which he had received from his parents was not lost : and he lived a number of years to make good that education, in a life of eminent piety and usefulness.

As he was educated an East India merchant, during the time of that education he conducted himself wisely : and being a person signally attentive to business, it was not long before the maxim of the wise man was literally accomplished in his coming to stand before princes ;* for, as he was made a freeman of the city of London in 1611, he devoted himself wholly to the East country trade. A company of merchants had been already incorporated for an exclusive trade to the Baltic, called "The Fellowship of East Land Merchants," A. D. 1579. In 1612, the English merchants of the East India Company, first united their separate stocks, into a joint stock. In 1612, Christian IV. of Denmark, established an East India Company at Copenhagen ; and soon after, four Bishops sailed from thence to the East Indies. The hint of this trade was given to His Danish Majesty, by James I., of England, who married a princess of Denmark ; and in 1617, they built and fortified a castle and town at Tranquebar, on the coast of Comorandel.† By this company he was chosen their Deputy Governor, in which office he so acquitted himself as to become very acceptable. The East India Company in particular, as a grateful token of respect for his services, presented to Mrs. Eaton, a bason and ewer, double gilt, and curiously wrought with gold, weighing more than sixty pounds. And afterwards, going himself into the East country, he not only became so well acquainted with the affairs of the Baltic, but was also such an adept in mercantile accomplishments, that he was sent as an Ambassador, by James I. King of England, to Christian IV.‡ King of Denmark : and the concerns of this agency were discreetly managed, 1613. He preserved his integrity unspotted, amid the splendor of the British and Danish courts. Having acquired a handsome property, he united himself in marriage to an amiable and deserving woman. This marriage took place at his return, after he had spent three years in an absence from

* "Seest thou a man diligent in business ? he shall stand before kings ; he shall not stand before mean men."—Prov. xxii. 29.

† Guthrie's Geography, p. 84.

‡ Christian IV. born in 1577, ascended the throne in 1588, at the age of 11 years ; he was chosen head of the Protestant League, in 1626, and died in 1648, aged 71.

her in the East country, 1615. But this blessing from divine Providence, proved but a transient enjoyment ; for she lived no longer than to make him the father of two children ; her death was a severe stroke to him ; and yet at this eventful moment, she expressed an admirable resignation, and a well founded hope of heaven. She is said to have uttered these words : " I am willing to be dissolved and to be with Christ, from whom I would not be detained for one hour, for all the enjoyment upon earth." Mrs. Eaton died in London, in the latter part of the year 1617.

After the death of his first wife, he was again united in marriage, in 1618, to Mrs. Ann Yale, relict of David Yale, Esq. and daughter of Dr. Thomas Morton, Bishop of Chester, and afterwards of Litchfield and Coventry, and Durham, in England.* To this lady he became an affectionate husband, as well as a kind and exemplary father to three children, which she had had by her former husband. Mr. Eaton, by his first wife, had two children. By his second, two sons and three daughters. In 1625, the plague raging in London carried off 35,000.† The two children of his first wife were smitten by it ; the eldest died, and the other, named Theophilus, survived. The second of his children, a son by his second wife, died in 1624, a short time before its commencement. Mr. Eaton afterwards spent a number of years in the city of London, as a merchant, of great credit and respectability.

On the 19th of March, 1628, the Council of Plymouth sold " to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, knights, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simeon Whetcomb, their heirs and assigns forever, all that part of New England in America, which lies and extends between the Merrimac river and Charles river, in the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, and three miles to the north and south of Charles river, and three miles south of the southernmost part of said Bay, and three miles northward of every part of Merrimack river, and all lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the limits aforesaid north and south, in latitude and breadth ; and in length and longitude, of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the mainlands there, from the Atlantic sea and ocean on the east part, to the South sea on the west part."‡

* A learned English Bishop in the 17th century.

† From Dec. 23d, 1624, to Dec. 22d, 1625, died of the plague in London, 41,413.—*Howe*. Whitlock says 35,417 ; and Kapin 41,000.

‡ Prince's New England Chronology. Hazard's State Papers, vol. 1, p. 241.

Upon this grant, Mr. White, a celebrated Puritan minister, at Dorchester, introduced to their acquaintance, several gentlemen resident in the vicinity of London, who joined them; among whom was Mr. Eaton. The original patent from the Plymouth Council fairly entitled them to right of soil, but granted them no powers of government. On the 4th of March, 1629, a royal charter was obtained and confirmed by Charles I. In this patent, the names of the three first did not appear. Towards the purchase of this charter, which is said to have cost the company two thousand pounds sterling, Theophilus Eaton, Esq. as a member of the corporation for New England, paid £100.* Several other merchants paid the same sum. On the 13th of May, 1629, at the annual election of officers, Mr. Eaton was chosen one of the magistrates. Mr. Cradock was chosen Governor, and Mr. Goffe, Deputy Governor. The Magistrates were, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersy, John Venn, John Humphrey, Simeon Whetcomb, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, William Pyncheon, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, George Foxcroft, William Vassall, John Pocock, Christopher Coulson and William Burr.

After these proceedings, several distinguished gentlemen, Messrs. Isaac Johnson, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley and others, determined to remove their families and property to New England; but upon this consideration only,—that the patent and charter should go with them. This proposal was first communicated July 28th. On the 28th of August, “at the general court of the Massachusetts Company in London, it was Ordered, that Messrs. Wright, Eaton, Adams, Spurstow, and with others they should think fit, should prepare arguments against the removal of the chief government to New England; that Messrs. Saltonstall, Johnson, Venn, and others they should think fit, should prepare their arguments for it; that both sides meet next day, at seven o'clock in the morning, compare and weigh their arguments, and at nine report to the whole company. August 29th, the same committee met, and made their report; and the major part of the company voted, that the patent and government should be transferred to New England.”† Mr. White, a learned counsellor at law, had great influence in obtaining this decision.

* Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. vol. 1.

† Prince's New England Chronology.

In consequence of this new resolve, the members of the Corporation who remained in England, were to hold a share in the trading stock and the profits for the term of seven years. The management was intrusted to ten persons; five of whom were to go to New England, and five to tarry behind. The five former were John Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, and Thomas Revell; the five latter were Matthew Cradock, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, and John Young. At the end of the term, the stock, with the profits, were to be divided to each man in proportion to his adventure.

October 20th.—At a general court of the Massachusetts company in London, Mr. Eaton was re-elected one of the magistrates.

March 18th, 1630.—Sir Briant Jansen was chosen in the room of Mr. Eaton, who had declined a removal.*

The next public notice that was taken of this eminent man, was the following: when the court was sitting at London, in Trinity term, June 2, 1635, "a Quo Warranto was brought against the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, by Sir John Banks,† Attorney General." It was stated by him that usurpations had been made of sundry liberties, privileges, and franchises in England, and beyond the seas, "without any warrant or royal grant."

The charges were fourteen in number, and all against the laws and customs of England. In Michaelmas Term, Sept. 11th, "Theophilus Eaton came in, and pleaded that he never usurped any of the said liberties, privileges, and franchises in said information; nor did, nor doth use, or claim any of the same, but wholly disclaims and prays dismissal. Whereupon the court gave judgment, that the said Theophilus shall not for the future intermeddle with any of the liberties, or franchises aforesaid, but shall be forever excluded from all use and claim of the same, and every of them."‡

After this measure, his residence in the British Isle was very short. In consequence of the measures pursued by Archbishop

* Prince's New England Chronology.

† Banks, Sir John, an eminent Barrister of Gray's Inn, born at Keswick, in Cumberland, and educated at Queen's College, Oxford. He was, in 1630, Attorney General to the Prince of Wales, and was afterwards made Chief Justice of the King's bench, from which he removed to the common pleas. He died at Oxford, Dec. 28th, 1664. Several of his manuscripts on law are still extant."—*Universal Biography*, vol. 1.

‡ Hazard's state papers, vol. 1, pp. 423, 424. Hutchinson's Collections, pp. 101—103.

Laud against the Dissenters, he was induced to leave his native country. Being satisfied that unlawful things were demanded, he determined, with the Rev. John Davenport and others, to seek a refuge from the storm, in the wilderness of America. On the 26th of June, 1637, two ships arrived at Boston from London. The name of one ship is not known. The other was called "The Hector," and was commanded by Capt. Ferne.* In these came passengers, the Rev. Messrs. Davenport, Eaton, and Prudden, famous ministers; the Hon. Theophilus Eaton,† Edward Hopkins, and Thomas Gregson, Esquires, and a number of other gentlemen, eminent for character and fortune. In the Hector came also the Lord Sey, son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, a youth of nineteen, to see the country. But the visit of this amiable and virtuous young nobleman was short. He sailed from Boston in September of the same year, in company with Sir Henry Vane, a Governor of Massachusetts. At their setting out, the soldiers in arms gave him several vollies of shot, and five pieces of ordnance, and five more in passing the Castle.‡

After the arrival of the former personages, their respectability and eminence, made the colony of Massachusetts very desirous to retain them. They were strongly solicitous to retain them in the colony. The general court offered them any part for their choice. Newbury consented to give up their whole settlement. They had many offers, and viewed many places, but none could satisfy. Mr. Eaton in every movement was the leader: he was a gentleman of great merit.|| Mr. Davenport, who had been ordained a presbyter by the Bishop of Lincoln, was an eminent minister of St. Stephen's Church, in Coleman-street, London. He had acquired a distinguished character for piety and learning. He was of an ambitious and enterprising spirit; the "first reviewer of the ancient notions of the millennium," in modern times. He wanted to be head wherever he was. Under the London persecution, he was compelled to conceal himself, in 1633. He re-

* Winthrop's New England, vol. 1, p. 228.

† Winthrop's New England, vol. 1, p. 259. Rev. William Hubbard's General History of New England, p. 260.

‡ Winthrop's New England, vol. 1, p. 299.

|| Says Governor Hutchinson, "Mr. Eaton was an East country merchant. He did not come to New England until 1637; and then settled New Haven colony, of which he was Governor all his life after. His correspondence, both with the Governor of Massachusetts and with the Dutch Governor of Manhadoes, or New York, discovers a good understanding and a virtuous mind."—Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. 1, p. 23.

sided at Amsterdam a number of years. While there, he received an invitation to Boston, in New England. Numbers who had been his principal hearers in London, came with him. These, in conjunction with their principals, wished to establish a separate form of civil and ecclesiastical government. Mercantile interest was their object, not agricultural.

Just before their arrival at Boston, the Pequot Indians, a tribe the most celebrated for military prowess of any at that day in North America, had been conquered by Capt. John Mason, a gallant officer, who commanded a number of troops which the colony of Connecticut had sent against them. He had taken one of their principal fortresses, and put between six and seven hundred of the enemy to the sword. Sassacus, the famous Pequot sachem, and his warriors, were upon this, struck with such consternation, that they destroyed their capital and fled to the westward. The English pursued them as far as a large swamp in Fairfield, since called the Saco or Pequot swamp, where they gained a complete victory, and the country east of the Dutch settlements became theirs by right of conquest. The Pequots, it appears, prior to this, had nearly extinguished the Indians at Quinepiac, since called New Haven.*

By the pursuit of the Pequots, the English had become acquainted with all that fine tract of country on the sea-coast, from Saybrook to Fairfield, with its rising ground, and vallies, and mountains, as well as its several harbors. Quinepiac, and the country between and the Dutch, was represented as very fertile, and well adapted for navigation and commerce. Upon this report, Mr. Eaton, and some of his company, came from Boston in the fall of the same year, reviewed Quinepiac, and pitched upon it as the most eligible place for a new settlement. In the meantime, they erected an indifferent shelter, for a few men to subsist in during the winter, and furnished them with the necessary provisions. At that time, Mr. Eaton was troubled with a fistula in his breast, from which he recovered with extreme difficulty.

Previous to their departure, Messrs. Davenport and Eaton addressed the following excellent letter to the rulers of Massachusetts colony :

"It may please the worthy and much honored Governor, Deputy, and Assistants, and with them the present Court, to take

* In the ancient records of New Haven, New Haven is called by the Indian names Quinipioke, Quinepiac, and Quilepiac.

knowledge, that our desire of staying within this patent was real and strong, if the eye of God's providence, (to whom we have committed our ways, especially in so important an enterprise as this, which, we confess, is far above our capacities,) had guided us to a place convenient for our families and for our friends. Which, as our words have often expressed, so, we hope, the truth thereof is sufficiently declared by our almost nine months' patiently waiting, in expectation of some opportunity to be offered us, for that end, to our great charge and hindrance many ways. In all which time we have, in many prayers, commended the guidance of our apprehensions, judgments, spirits, resolutions, and ways, into the good hand of the only wise God, whose prerogative it is to determine the bounds of our habitations, according to the ends for which he hath brought us into these countries; and we have considered, as we were able, by his help, whatsoever place hath been propounded to us, being ready to have, with contentment, accepted (if by our stay any public good might be promoted,) smaller accommodations, and upon dearer terms, (if they might be commodious,) than, we believe, most men, in the same case with us, in all respects, would have done. And whereas a place for an inland plantation beyond Watertown, was propounded to us, and pressed with much importunity by some, whose words have the power of a law with us, in any way of God, we did speedily and seriously deliberate thereupon, it being the subject of the greater part of a day's discourse. The conclusion was, that if the upland should answer the meadow ground in goodness and desirableness, (whereof there is yet some ground of doubting,) yet, considering that a boat cannot pass from the bay thither, nearer than eight or ten miles distance, and that it is so remote from the bay, and from any town, we could not see how our dwelling there would be advantageous to these plantations, or compatible with our conditions, or commodious for our families or for our friends. Nor can we satisfy ourselves, that it is expedient for ourselves or for our friends, that we must be compelled to have our dwelling houses distant from our farms as Boston or Charlestown is from that place,—few of our friends being able to bear the charge thereof, (whose cases, nevertheless, we are bound to consider,) and some of them that are able, not being persuaded that it is lawful for them to live continually from the greatest part of their families, as, in this case, they would be necessitated to do. The season of the year, and other

weighty considerations, compelled us to hasten to a full and final conclusion, which we are at last come into, by God's appointment and direction, we hope in mercy, and have sent letters to Connecticut for the speedy transacting of the purchase of the parts about Qilepiac from the natives, which may pretend little thereunto. By which act we are absolutely and irrevocably engaged that way; and we are persuaded that God will render it for good unto these plantations, whose love so abundantly, above our deserts or expectations, expressed in your desire of our abode in these parts, as we shall ever retain in thankful memory, so we shall account ourselves thereby obliged to be any way instrumental and serviceable for the common good of these plantations, as well as of those which the divine Providence hath combined together in as strong a band of brotherly affection, by the sameness of their condition, as Joab and Mishai were, whose several armies did mutually strengthen them both against several enemies, 2 Sam. ix. 10, 11, or rather, they are joined together as Hippocrates his twins, to stand and fall, to grow and decay, to flourish and wither, to live and die, together.

In witness of the premises, we subscribe our names,

JOHN DAVENPORT,

THEOPHILUS EATON.

The 12th day of the 1st month, 1638.

[To be continued.]

[We take pleasure in acknowledging the kindness of a learned gentleman in a neighboring town, who has placed in our hands a valuable collection of original manuscripts. From this treasure we have copied the preceding interesting biographical sketch of the first Governor of the New Haven colony. The remainder of the article will occupy a portion of several succeeding numbers of this Magazine. The "Memoir of Hon. ELIHU YALE," which will be found in subsequent pages of this number, is from the same collection of papers. Other rich and valuable biographical notices will follow, as we have room.]

WYOMING.—No. II.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, CONTINUED.

As the late disturbances among the people inhabiting the lands on the Susquehannah river, in controversy between the proprietors of Pennsylvania and the colony of Connecticut, have drawn the attention of the public, it may not be amiss, to give a short and impartial state of the facts relative to that affair, to prevent misapprehension and unjust censure of any of the persons concerned on either side.

There is a real claim of title and jurisdiction by both parties over a tract of territory about seventy miles wide, north and south, and about two hundred and fifty miles long, east and west, bounded east by the river Delaware, and south by forty-one degrees north latitude.

The colony of Connecticut claim by a charter granted by King Charles II., dated the 23d day of April 1662.

The proprietors of Pennsylvania claim by a charter granted by the same King, dated March 4th, 1681. Said proprietors acknowledge that the land in controversy is contained in the charter to Connecticut, as appears by their late petition to the King in council, and there is no dispute but that it is also contained in the charter to said proprietors of Pennsylvania.

A number of the inhabitants of Connecticut, in the year 1754, purchased the native right to that part of said land which is now inhabited, on the east and west branches of Susquehannah river, of the Sachems of the Six Nations of Indians, in a grand congress at Albany,—which purchase was approved by an act of the General Assembly of the colony of Connecticut, in May, 1755; and said purchasers began a settlement thereon about the year 1762, but it being represented to the Secretary of State that continuing said settlements would likely bring on an Indian war, a requisition was made by the King to the Governor of Connecticut, to recall the settlers until proper measures should be taken to prevent any fresh troubles with the Indians, upon which said settlers removed off from said lands, and in 1768 a line was settled by the

King's order between the English and Indian lands, upon which the proprietors of Pennsylvania made a purchase of part of the same lands of the Indians which had before been purchased by the people of Connecticut. This settlement of the line was in the fall of the year 1768, and in February 1769 the Connecticut people returned to their former possessions on said lands, since which time great part of said lands have been, by the proprietors of Pennsylvania, granted and surveyed to particular persons in Pennsylvania, and the Assembly of that province has annexed the same to the counties of Northampton and Northumberland.

The colony of Connecticut also incorporated a town called *Westmoreland*, including all the inhabited part of said lands, and annexed it to the county of Litchfield, which is since made a distinct county, called the county of *Westmoreland*. The settlers under the claim of Connecticut are on the lands near the east branch of Susquehannah river, and the settlers under the Pennsylvania proprietors, on or near the west branch of said river.

REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS.

[Extracts from an Orderly Book, continued from p. 110.]

GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, New York, Aug. 30th, 1776.

ALL commanding officers of regiments are to parade on their regimental parades this evening at five o'clock, to examine the state of their men, ammunition and arms, and get them in the best order. All damaged cartridges are to be returned, and in that case fresh ones drawn without further orders, soon as returned. The returns of regiments are to be made as soon and as exact as possible ; no arguments can be necessary at such a time as this to induce the officers to a strict attention to their duty. The constant firing in the camp, notwithstanding repeated orders to the contrary, is very scandalous ; and seldom a day passes but some persons are shot by their friends : once more, therefore, the General intreats the officers to prevent it, and call upon the soldiers to forbear this practice. Pieces that cannot be drawn are to be discharged in a volley at retreat beating, and not otherwise ; and then by command of officers. The loss of the General officers by the last action

having occasioned a necessary change in the brigades, the Brigade Majors are to attend at two o'clock to-morrow to receive new arrangements. As the tents are wet, and weather unfavorable, the troops are to remain in the city till further orders : those not supplied with barracks, to apply to Mr. Rosback, Barrack Master. General Wadsworth to send two regiments from his brigade to reinforce Colonel Sergeant, at Horn's Hook, as soon as possible. In case of an alarm this evening, which may be expected, from the nearness of the enemy, and their expectation of taking advantage of the late rains, and last night's fatigue, the following disposition is to take place ; and the regiments to parade accordingly. General Mifflin's to parade on the grand parade,—they are then to join the regiments lately composing Lord Sterling's brigade, and the whole to parade on the parade lately assigned them by him. They are to act under General Mifflin as a reserve corps. The regiments of General Nixon's brigade are to join General Spencer's division, who will assign them their alarm post. The Jersey troops to join McDougal's brigade, and parade at or near said General. Brigadier for the day, General Scott ; field officers for picket, Lieut. Pitthorn, Maj. Starr ; Brigade Major, Henley.

GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, Sept. 3d, 1776.

THE General most earnestly requests that the several Brigadiers and Commandants of brigades, get their respective corps in the best order as soon as possible, and for that purpose they should join in brigades, soon as they possibly can be on a parade appointed for that purpose. The Brigade Majors, according to the new arrangement, are to attend every day for orders while they stay in town. If they should march to reinforce Generals Mifflin's and McDougal's brigades, they will fix upon one to come to head quarters every day for orders. General Fellow's brigade to furnish a captain, two subalterns, and fifty men, for boat duty, till further orders ; to call at head quarters and receive orders at 8 o'clock every morning.

Some instances of infamous cowardice, and some of scandalous plunder and riot, have lately appeared. The General is resolved to bring the offenders to exemplary punishment. The notion that seems too much to prevail, of laying hold of property,

not under immediate care of a guard, is utterly destructive of all honesty or good order, and will prove the ruin of any army when practiced; it is therefore hoped, that the officers will exert themselves to put a stop to it on all future occasions. If they do not ere long, death will be the portion of some of the offenders.

The state of the ammunition and arms should be the subject of constant attention to every officer. The General hopes the justice of the great cause in which they are engaged, the necessity and importance of defending the country, pursuing its liberties, and warding off the destruction meditated against it, will incite every man with firmness and resolution in time of action, which is now approaching; remembering that with the blessing of Heaven, and the bravery of the men, our country can be saved.

The General orders a return to be made immediately, and delivered to the Brigadiers and commandants of brigades—so that brigade returns may be made at 12 o'clock to-morrow. The near approach of the enemy obliges the guard to be doubled; the several Brigade Majors are immediately to settle the duty of their brigades according to their strength;—this is consigned to General Putnam's division. Brigadier for the day, General Scott; field officers for the picket, Col. Hinman, Lieut. Thompson, and Major Canfield; for main guard, Major Lee; Brigade Major, Fish.

SILK CULTURE.—No. III.

As we have adverted in two antecedent numbers, to the origin and advancement of the silk culture in this country, and as we deem it an important branch of industry, as connected with the public weal, we continue our attention to the subject, by the publication of a list of those to whom premiums were awarded, in the city of New Haven, for successful efforts in the business. It can hardly be doubted, that with a population rapidly increasing, and requiring, as well as affording, new stimulants to industry in all branches of art, the production and manufacture of silk, will soon become important and valuable accessions to our national prosperity.

The American Museum, published in Philadelphia in Novem-

ber, 1790, gives the following statement with regard to the culture of silk in New Haven.

Account of the culture of silk, in about sixty families within the city of New Haven, during the present season of 1790, wherein about 442,000 silk worms have been raised.

					WORMS.
Mr. Abraham Thompson,	-	-	-	-	60,000
Mr. Peter Johnson,	-	-	-	-	35,000
Mr. Amos Mix,	-	-	-	-	30,000
Mrs. Sabin,	-	-	-	-	23,000
Mr. Thomas Atwater,	-	-	-	-	22,000
Mr. Ruther'd Trowbridge,	-	-	-	-	20,000
Mr. Silas Hotchkiss,	-	-	-	-	20,000
Mr. Hezekiah Hotchkiss,	-	-	-	-	13,000
Miss Betsey Sherman,	-	-	-	-	12,000
Mr. Elijah Austin,	-	-	-	-	10,000
Master Thomas Fitch,	-	-	-	-	10,000
Mr. Israel Munson,	-	-	-	-	10,000
Mr. Elisha Mix,	-	-	-	-	10,000
Mr. James Murray,	-	-	-	-	9,000
Mrs. Barney,	-	-	-	-	8,000
Mr. Hezekiah Tuttle,	-	-	-	-	8,000
Capt. Warner,	-	-	-	-	7,000
Mr. Timothy Clark,	-	-	-	-	7,000
Capt. Joseph Munsen,	-	-	-	-	7,000
Mr. Moulthron,	-	-	-	-	8,000
Mr. William Scott,	-	-	-	-	8,000
Mr. Hibbard,	-	-	-	-	8,000
Mr. Hezekiah Ball,	-	-	-	-	7,000
Miss Polly Ball,	-	-	-	-	6,000
Mr. Beriah Chittenden,	-	-	-	-	6,000
Mr. William Cook,	-	-	-	-	6,000
Mr. Ichabod Page,	-	-	-	-	5,500
Mr. Eber Sperry,	-	-	-	-	5,000
Mr. Thomas Burrell,	-	-	-	-	5,000
Mr. Lemuel Benham,	-	-	-	-	5,000
Mr. Christian Hanson,	-	-	-	-	4,000
Mr. John Brown,	-	-	-	-	3,200
Mr. Henry Daggett, jun.,	-	-	-	-	3,500

Dr. Eneas Munson,	-	-	-	-	3,000
Mr. Jacob Doggett,	-	-	-	-	3,000
Mr. Isaac Jones,	-	-	-	-	3,000
Mr. Kiersted Mansfield,	-	-	-	-	3,000
Mr. Pember Joslyn,	-	-	-	-	3,000

With several others, amounting to 20,500.

For the American Historical Magazine.

REMINISCENCES.

THE first Court ever holden in New Haven, sat in a chamber of a house which stood on the corner of Elm and Church street, on the spot where Mr. Musgrave's house now stands. The house was owned by a Mr. Mansfield, who has now numerous descendants in this city. Early after the Superior Court was organized, there was a man tried for his life, and the Court-room could not contain the people who came together on the occasion, and the Court therefore adjourned to the meeting-house which stood on the lower section of the green, about half way between the Center Church and Church street. Hence originated the custom of holding capital trials in meeting-houses.

ABOUT fifty years ago, an ingenious young gentleman, connected with Yale College, invented a machine which he called an Automaton. He insisted that it might be conducted by certain machinery applied to it, so as to carry persons, at the rate of six miles an hour, without horse or other power. Dr. Stiles, then President of the College, became delighted with the invention. On a certain day it was exhibited in the College yard, and a great number of gentlemen from the town, with the faculty of College, assembled to witness its power. Roger Sherman, then Mayor of the city, was among the spectators, and at the desire of Dr. Stiles, he stepped on to the automaton, and made a very short speech. The venerable Mayor had not a spice of enthusiasm about him. I stood by and heard his speech. The substance of it was, that it would be a very valuable machine, and answer many useful purposes, IF IT WOULD GO.

It never did go.

D.

MEMOIR OF HON. ELIHU YALE.

A good name is better than precious ointment.—*Solomon.*

THE family of this distinguished man, and a native of New Haven in its infant settlement, is very ancient and honorable. He was a munificent benefactor of the celebrated College which is honored with his name. President Stiles has mentioned the origin of this patron of that flourishing institution in these terms;

"Governor Yale descended from an ancient and wealthy family in Wales, which, for many generations, possessed the manor of Plas Grannow, and several other messuages, near the city of Wrexham, of the yearly value of five hundred pounds."*

David Yale, Esq., a descendant of this family, was married to Ann, a daughter of the Rev. Thomas Morton, D. D., then Dean of Winchester, about the year 1613. The Rev. Dr. Morton afterwards became bishop of Chester, Litchfield and Coventry, and Durham, in England. By this lady he had three children, named Ann, David and Thomas. David Yale, Esq. departed this life some time in the year 1617; and his relict was again married, in 1618, to the Hon. Theophilus Eaton, Esq. who had been on an embassy from the British to the Danish Court. Thomas Yale, Esq., their youngest son, and father of the Hon. Elihu, the estimable subject of this memoir, arrived at Boston, in New England, June 26, 1637. The next year he arrived at New Haven, with the colonists, and in the family of Governor Eaton, April 14, 1638. He was born in England, 1616; he was married and died in New Haven, March 27, 1683, aged 67. His consort, Mrs. Mary Yale, died in the same town, Oct. 15, 1704. Their issue was nine children.

In this town, their third son, ELIHU, was born, April 5th, 1648. In 1658, he went to England, in company with his father, and his maternal grand parent, Mrs. Eaton. His father returned to New Haven, in 1659. His son Elihu left England for the East Indies, in 1678. He resided in that country to about 1698; was

* Holmes' Life of Stiles, p. 386.

made Governor of Madras, and married an Indian lady of fortune, the relict of Governor Hinners, his predecessor. By this lady he had three daughters: one of which was married to Lord James Cavendish, uncle to the Duke of Devonshire.* "The eldest daughter, Catharine, was married to Dudley North, Esq. whose only son, Mr. Dudley North, was, in 1789, a member of Parliament, and in possession of the ancestral seat of Glemham. This gentleman, on the application of President Stiles, through the address of Samuel Broome, Esq., merchant of New Haven, in 1789, presented to Yale College, an excellent full length portrait of his ancestor, Governor Yale, taken in 1717."†

Collins, in his *Peerage*, having introduced his name, in consequence of the marriage of his eldest daughter with Dudley North, Esq., closes his notice in the following manner:

"Said Elihu Yale brought so many goods from India, that he found no house large enough to contain them, and he had a public sale of the overplus; and this was the first auction in England. On his tomb at Wrenham, in Denbigshire, is the following inscription:

"Under this tomb lies interred Elihu Yale, of Place Gronow, Esq.; born 5th of April, 1648, and died the 8th of July, 1721, aged 73 years.

"Born in America; in Europe bred,
In Afric travel'd, and in Asia wed,
Where long he liv'd and thriv'd: at London dead.
Much good, some ill he did, so hopes all's even,
And that his soul through mercy's gone to heaven.
You that survive and read, take care
For this most certain exit to prepare:
For only the actions of the just,
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust."‡

"This gentleman sent, in several donations to the collegiate school, (Yale College,) five hundred pounds sterling, between 1714 and 1718; and a little before his death, ordered goods to be sent out to the value of five hundred pounds more; but they were never received.

* President Dwight's *Statistic Memoir* of the town and city of New Haven, p. 49.

† Holmes *Life of Stiles*, p. 386.

‡ Collins' *Peerage*.

"In gratitude to this benefactor, the Trustees, by a solemn act, named the seminary *Yale College*; a name which, it is believed, will convey the memory of his beneficence to distant generations."*

EARLY HISTORY OF NEW YORK.

[Early Dutch Records, continued from p. 104.]

No. VII.

LETTER FROM THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, TO THEIR
REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW AMSTERDAM.

Right honorable, worthy, pious, beloved, faithful :

Our last to you was on the 10th April of the last year, by which we did at that time advise what was necessary.

In the interim, we have by different conveyances received many letters, as also duplicates of the documents, not before come to hand, by reason of the misfortune which happened to the ship *Princess*; and although we now find that many of those letters were by aforesaid letters punctually answered, yet we find some matters which require our more particular answer. But before we go over thereto, we think it necessary to specify what letters we have received, that is to say,—

1646, of the 15th and 16th October, out of the ship *Princess*, lying then at Barbadoes.

Two letters without year or date, sent us by the way of English Virginia.

One letter dated the 4th August, 1648.

One do. without date, treating of business particularly relating to yourselves.

Two of the 2d and 23d September of the aforesaid year.

Item from Lugeas Rodenborgh, of Curacoa, of the 3d June, 1747, and 2d September.

6th April and 5th May, 1648.

One of the 22d March, 1648, from Jan Galeart, schoolmaster, at Curacoa.

* President Dwight's Statistic Memoir of the town and city of New Haven, p. 49.

One of the 6th September, 1649, from Karel Van Brugge, of Fort Orange.

Three letters from De Backerius, dated the 7th August and 22d September, 1648.

One from the Fiscaal Hendrick Van Dyck, dated the 4th September, 1648.

In addition to reading all the before mentioned letters, we have resumed the consideration of the several matters that have, from time to time, happened there; we have recourse also to the books, that when opportunity offers, the result may be communicated to you.

Although you tell us that we have not punctually answered your former letter, we cannot be convinced thereof, except only in a few points, which we have silently passed over, as having no sufficient information to come to any categorical resolution thereupon; as for example, you have requested our approbation of the confiscation of the ship, the *Liefde*, whereof was Captain Haybert Van Ree, relating to which we have not been furnished with the necessary information, nor have we seen the form of the proceedings against her; which we have now only received, and as far as we can judge, was for good reasons confiscated; but we cannot however help observing, the goods contained in the inventory were not sold at public sale, nor has the price thereof been brought out, nor has the Fiscaal given due notice by three citations and proclamations, which would have been done in better form on shore, than to carry such sentences into execution on shipboard. Now the owners have commenced suit against us, and demand the sum of *f*10,000, and in all probability will make use of the aforesaid arguments, though we have as yet not seen their demand in writing; and that, which in this case may make against us, may also be opposed to us with respect to the ship *Benninio*, relating to which no claim hath yet been put in; but we have already got in the law about the ship laden with hides and tobacco, the former owner of which is now busy here to reclaim those goods, pretending that he is a burgher and inhabitant of this city, which we believe may with some justice be said of his mother, but, as we have been informed, he has lived for the last fifteen years in Spain. He complains loudly that he and the other prisoners have not been treated in conformity to the Company's instructions, but that all the crew were put into a boat to shift for themselves. Whether the reasons offered against this charge will

not appear somewhat blue to the judge, time will shew. Interim we remain in trouble, and are not a little surprised at this mode of proceedings and processes, and the more so, as we find you have, at Curacoa, begun to dispose of some of these goods without a legal adjudication, after which there was but one proper citation put up, whereupon you contracted with several merchants for a large quantity of hides. You have also approved of the plundering of a heavy quantity of pearls, and pieces of eight; and although the plunderers make the quantity but small, their testimony does not agree with the account given thereof by the supercargo, and much less with the demand of those interested therein. And although we find that the Prince was taken on the 15th April, 1648, and brought in on the 23d of that month, we are not a little surprised that between that time and the 23d September, when your last letter was written, only one notification had been given about the aforesaid Prince, nor have we to this time been informed what form of process you have instituted; notwithstanding which, this is a matter of great importance, and it could not but be expected, that an appeal would thereupon be had; and what surprises us more than all is, that you have not sent us an inventory of the goods which composed the cargo; and in particular, you do not, in the multiplicity of all your letters, say one word about 2000 lbs. Macaraybs tobacco in the cargo; nor that you have received, or at what price you have sold the same, which would at this time sell here for 8 st. the pound, which we conceive not to be so small a matter, as thus to be silently passed over.

It is therefore absolutely necessary, that by the first conveyance you send us an exact account of all the goods of which the cargo consisted; and also all the necessary documents and form of process relating to this confiscation, much doubting whether they will be conformable to the laws of this country, where no society is allowed to take to themselves either vessels or confiscated goods, and divide the same at such prices as they may think proper to fix thereon, but all is sold in a public manner; and this too, we know, has been the custom with you, and goods have been sold so.

With respect to the confiscation of the ship *St. Peter*, all things have not been conducted in due form; for we find by the account of sales, that the thirty pieces of duffils of John Van Hardenbergh are delivered in to the Commissary of the Company's magazine, at the price of 54 stuivers the ell, and the said Hardenbergh hath

proved by certificates, that at the same time, the same sort of duffils were, by the twenty four pieces together, sold at four guilders the ell. And whereas, we have, before date hereof, provisionally settled this dispute with him, so have we given directions how you should conduct yourselves with respect thereto. But it seems you have thought proper to take up this affair anew ; and to that purpose sending us the declaration of Simon Pieterse Pos, under pretense that we had not received the same before, or at least, that we had not paid proper attention to the subject matter thereof ; upon which we shall only observe, that the same hath before been duly examined by us, together with all evidences relative thereto, and found it necessary to come to an agreement with him on that account, and have consented that he should pay the balance due from him in public securities ; so that you have on this account nothing to do with this person . . [Note. The Dutch sentence is incomplete here.]

[To be continued.]

COMMERCE OF NEW HAVEN.

In the last Magazine an omission was accidentally made, of acknowledgments to Mr. DURAND, Surveyor of this port, for his compliance with our request, in giving a detailed "account of the Custom house value of imports and exports, at the port of New Haven, commencing in the year 1826, and ending in the year 1835." We hope that a late apology may be accepted.

Since we have thus accidentally alluded to the subject, a remark may be added, in allusion to the commerce of New Haven. Mr. Durand's table embraces ten years, commencing in 1826, and ending in 1835. The aggregate of imports for those ten years, amount to \$2,402,485. The aggregate of exports during the same years, amount to \$3,358,075. It will be perceived from the above statement, that our exports have exceeded our imports during the past ten years, \$955,590, approaching nearly to one hundred thousand dollars per annum.

We believe that this tabular statement, from an authentic source, will give a proof of the health and growing prosperity of our city, that has not been sufficiently remarked.

HON. WILLIAM BRISTOL.

THE burial ground of a city presents a history, where truth and philosophy mingle, without discord. Sculptured stones give the annals of generations. We have in epitaphs, the characters of those who have passed by; and if we avail ourselves of their impressive lessons, cannot fail to experience a salutary influence on our own affections.

The above remark is made in reference to a recent and sudden death. The Hon. WILLIAM BRISTOL, District Judge of the United States Court for the District of Connecticut, died at his residence in New Haven, on the 7th of March last, in consequence of an organic affection, that had long occasioned solicitude.

Another mound is now to be erected in our cemetery, over the burial place of a valued and honored citizen. It will be a place where affection will linger, and where it will be found in company with patriotism and honor.

Judge Bristol died at the age of 58. His father was Simeon Bristol, Esq., of Woodbridge, and the subject of this notice was born in that town. He was educated at Yale College, where he received testimonials of respect and regard, for his attainments as a scholar. He was an upright Judge, a safe Counsellor, and in all aspects of character, as a Civilian, beyond reproach. It is not for the Editors of a Historical Magazine to speak in stronger terms; and yet they are well persuaded, that they would not trespass on truth, if they carried their encomiums much farther.

ERRATUM.—An important error in date occurred in the March number of this Magazine, which the reader will please correct. Page 116, seventh line, instead of 1771, read 1781.

LITERARY RECORD.

To the Editor of the Historical Magazine.

IN the Magazine for March, you have given an extract from the Prospectus of a new Dictionary of the English Language, by Charles Richardson, in which the author notices me and my dictionary with *censure*, and not a little arrogance. He writes, that "Dr. Webster, *abjured the assistance* of Skinner, Vossius, and the learned elders of lexicography; and of Horne Tooke, he quaintly says, I have made no use of his writings."

In reply, I would observe that I used both Skinner and Vossius, when I had occasion; but for Skinner I had little use, as I found in his work very little to aid me. My own researches supplied me with what is *correct* in his Etymologicon, and what is *erroneous* I did not want. As to Vossius, I found his deductions of words so wild and visionary, that had I followed him, I should have ruined my own work.

Mr. Richardson treats my display of learning in the Preliminary Essays, as no more appropriate and useful than a reference to the code of Gentoo laws would be to decide a question of English jurisprudence. My reply to this assertion is, that it proves the author knows too little of the subject to justify any opinion of the value of my researches.

I stated in my work that I made no use of Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*. This is true; during twenty years in which I was occupied, I took one volume of Tooke from my shelf, in a single instance only. The reason was, I had no occasion for his works. I thoroughly examined the Saxon, our mother language, in the best *Lexicon*, and had no occasion for Tooke's opinions, many of which are palpably erroneous. I read the *Diversions of Purley* forty years ago; and I was indebted to that work for some valuable information, which led me to study the Saxon, and to a familiar acquaintance with the language—more familiar probably than Tooke possessed.

Mr. Richardson writes, that "Dr. Webster was entirely unacquainted with our old authors." Pray, how does he know that? I have not indeed often made quotations from them, for this did not fall within my plan, which was to *furnish a Dictionary for modern use*. If I had encumbered my work with Archaisms, my dictionary would have been *more expensive and less useful*; indeed, I should have lost my labor, and my fellow citizens would have been disappointed. Not one man in a hundred cares

a straw for the huge mass of quotations from Chaucer, Gower, and other antiquated authors, which load the quartos of Mr. Richardson. Indeed, most of them throw no light on the present use of words.

I saw a specimen of Richardson's Dictionary in London, twelve years ago. I thought little of it then, and I think less of it now.

When I was in London, I put a part of my manuscripts into the hands of Murray, the bookseller. I was informed that these papers were sent to Mr. Richardson, who was then engaged in his work, and I have reason to think this information to be correct. Of the propriety of this conduct, readers may form their own opinions.

In answer to the charge of abjuring the assistance of the learned elders of lexicography, I would observe that I have examined several of the most able of the learned elders of lexicography and glossography, and the result has been, that with the exception of Shuyd and Spelman, I found them so incorrect that no dependence can be placed on their etymological deductions. Most of the old books furnish many valuable facts, but these are mixed with so many opinions and decisions *merely conjectural*, which have been discovered to be false, that in order to consult them with safety, a man must be better acquainted with the subject than those authors were, that he may be able to separate truth from error. The most important principles and facts in the origin and connection of languages, and the deduction of words, appear not to have been discovered by any European writer whose works I have seen.

N. WEBSTER.



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First. The annual subscription to be *three dollars*, to be paid on the delivery of the third number.

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WM. STORER, JUN.

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